

## The Ilocano Psychology in Selected Ilocano Short Stories

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### ABSTRACT

Using a thematic approach in analyzing qualitative data, the study determined the values embedded in 16 Ilocano short stories. Aided by the tenets of Cultural Studies, the study focused on how the stories mirror Ilocano values. Eleven themes (values) emerged as a result of the analysis done on the short stories, which were further grouped into three categories. Under moral /ethical values: religiosity, honesty and patience. For cultural/traditional values: courteous, frugal, resourceful and hardworking; while for social values, friendly, helpful, party-lover and having a sense of “bain” were identified. By looking into these stories, it is safely assumed that the Ilocano identity is something positive, since all the values mentioned connotes a positive meaning. It can also be said that it is these values which shape the Ilocano identity, the true soul of the Ilocanos—their psychology. Thus, as an extension, the researcher recommends looking into other short stories and other literary genres using relevant literary or sociological theories to validate the findings of this study.

**Keywords:** *Ilocano Values, Ilocano Culture, Ilocano Stories, Cultural Studies, Thematic Analysis*

### INTRODUCTION

It takes a long time for a tribe or group of tribes to emerge as one people, and among the earliest tribes that inhabited Northwestern Luzon, the Ilocanos emerged as one of the “firsts”. These people have developed a body of culture that set them clearly distinct from other tribes of the country, even as they have always been one with them in the task of nation building.

Ilocanos are descendants of Austronesian-speaking people from Southern China via Taiwan. Families and clans arrived by *viray* or *bilog*, meaning boat. The term Ilocano originated from / meaning “from” and *looc* meaning “cove” or “bay” thus “people of the bay.” Ilocanos also refer to themselves as *Samtoy*, a contraction from the Ilocano phrase, “*saomi ditoy*,” meaning “our language here”(Foronda & Foronda, 2024).

Foreman (2024) further adds that Ilocanos occupy the narrow, barren strip of land in the northwestern tip of Luzon, squeezed in between the inhospitable cordillera mountain range to the east and the South China sea to the west. Amano (2001) adds that “This harsh geography moulded a people known for their clannishness, tenacious industry and frugality, traits that were vital for survival. It also induced Ilocanos to become a migratory people, always in search of better opportunities and for land to build a life on.” (p. 3).

Today, people who speak Ilocano as their Lingua franca are the so-called Ilocanos. Properly speaking however, those who are perceived to be Ilocanos are those who do not only use Ilocano as a lingua franca by reason of residence, ethnic origin or co-optation, but who also share in common the values, attitudes mores traditions and lifestyles that have been fostered in the ancestral Ilocos region and they may be inside or outside the four original Ilocos provinces (Albert 2013). They may be the Tinguianes, Itnegs, Calanasans, Igorots, Ifugao Kalingas, Bontocs, Pangasinenses, Tarlaquenos, Zambalenos, Nueva Vizcayanos and Ecijanos, Gaddangs, Ibanags, or some ethnic group or culture or geographical group assimilated into the diaspora of Iloco culture. They may also be found in foreign countries like Hawaii, Guam, US mainland, Canada, England, the Middle East or in some other places within the four corners of the globe. For this reason, it is perhaps more accurate now to regard the word "Ilocano" less in the terms of its ethnic sense than its cultural implications. It is therefore interesting to note that the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Ilocano language is offered as a degree (Alvarez, 2024).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The Ilocano short story traces its beginning on tales told by *lallakay* and *babbaket* (old men and women) about the adventures of Lam-ang and many other tales about giants, princes and princesses, dwarfs, kapre, tikbalang, ghosts etc. presumably found in the locality (Foronda & Foronda, 2024). These, were however, in the form of oral tradition. It was not until the coming of the Spaniards that these tales were recorded in the printed word. With the coming of the Bannawag in the 1930's, Ilocano writings, among them short stories, novels, poems, and essays were developed. The Bannawag magazine acts as the "arm" of Ilocano literature. In fact, many literary contests are held every year to help Ilocano writers hone their craft and eventually propagate Ilocano literature. The yearly literary seminar workshop organized by GUMIL (Association of Ilocano Writers) during summers, also aid in the propagation and growth of Ilocano literature (Rambaud, 2006).

There have been a number of studies done on Ilocano literature. Among them Noemi Ulep-Rosal whose thesis "A Historico-Critical Survey of Iluko Short Story from its Beginnings-2000; A Materialist Approach". Rosal (2000) articulated that the usual representations of the Ilocanos are those that portray them as very thrifty, hardworking, industrious and patient people. They are imaged as very simple in cuisine and sartorial taste.

She further adds:

They are shown as peace-loving and humble, and on account of all these, other ethno-culture groups perceive them as very lowly, stingy people who can just be taken for granted and can be easily pushed around anytime, this is where one can easily get totally mistaken, for the simple, humble and patient and peaceful Ilocanos will never allow themselves to be pushed around. They see themselves as willing to fight death in defense of their rights and dignity as human beings, if adjustments cannot be done anymore. (para.24)

Galam (2008) added that the Ilocanos, over determined by the rugged character of their overpopulated and barren physical environment, have not only developed those character traits mentioned, more importantly, they have developed stable personalities that will never be shaken by just a slight gush of violence. Thus, the Ilocano community is considered by scholars

to have proven itself through the years to be the Philippines' community least prone to social destabilization.

Guira and Domingo (2022), using a thematic approach in analyzing qualitative data, determined the Ilocano cultural values embedded in Ilocos Norte toponyms that reflect the Ilokano identity. The study specifically focused on their positive Ilokano values before any foreign influences. Three significant themes were identified which include the following: Ilokanos are Industrious and Indulgent; Ilokanos are Independent and Individualistic, and Ilokanos are Illustrious and Impressive. By looking into the historical accounts, the study provides an overview of the Ilokano identity by understanding the Ilokanos' worldview and sense of self.

These studies have focused on already known values or in some ways, aspects of the Ilocano identity or to some extent, the Ilocano psychology. But they have not been exhaustive (as this researcher sees it), in identifying other values or facets of the Ilocano identity and/or psychology. It is this gap that this research wants to fill. This paper aims to identify other values that depicts Ilocano identity and psychology apart from the ones already identified.

## METHODS

The study employed qualitative research design, particularly the thematic analysis approach. It conceptualized the analysis and interpretation of the researcher on the Ilokano values manifested in the stories under study. The primary data source for this study are the stories purposefully selected by the researcher from Bannawag published from the 70s and 80s, which according to Hidalgo (1992), is the “golden age of Ilocano literature”. Aided by the tenets of Cultural Studies or the idea that “experience lived, experience interpreted, and experience defined” (Hall, 2024), cultural studies as a discipline analyze not just texts themselves but also the ways in which cultural knowledge is produced and consumed in the real world. This means taking into account the socio-economic, political, and historical context in which texts are made, and the positionalities and marginalities of the makers and the people being represented in the texts. Texts here refer to not just books or literature but photos, art, films, television, fashion, etc – anything that is imbued with cultural meaning (Barker, 2017).

Further, the stories were analyzed thematically to develop the Ilokano values for this research. The thematic analysis of qualitative data is most effective in showing the researcher's interpretation. Each story was analyzed through identifying the values embedded in them and further grouping them into three categories. The researchers synthesized the values to come up with the general themes that emerged from these stories, which in turn are what defines Ilocano psychology or identity.

The short stories purposively chosen for this paper were *Adigi* by Nole V. Lansangan, *Ala, Kuriat, Kanta!* by Clesencio B. Rambaud, *Buneng* by Jose Bragado, *Bukel ti Panagbalbaliw* by Hernelio S. Baradi, *Lakay Samuel* by Francisco Martin T Rochina, *Manmano Ti Kas Kenkuana* by Jacinto B De Peralta, *Naimbag a Nakem* by Cecilio Tenoso, *Nana Bala* by Clesencio Rambaud, *Ni Lelong* by Linda Villanueva-Landingin, *Proserpina* by Juan SP Hidalgo, Jr., *Pulseras Nga Pirak* by Benito s De Castro, *Sugat iti Barukang ti Daga* by Rogelio S. Aquino, *Ti Anibersaryo* by RupertaVR Asuncion, *Ti Bisita* by Agustin DC Rubin, *Ti Simot-simot iti Lampara ni Julio Madarang* by Reynaldo S Duque, and *Ubbog* by Fortunato S Serna.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ilocano identity and/or psychology is best explained in terms of values. These values are further grouped into three categories, namely: moral/ethical values, social values, and cultural/traditional values.

### *Moral/Ethical Values*

Moral/Ethical values are values which are dictated and defined by morality, or the moral beliefs and practices of a culture, community, or religion or a code or system of moral rules, principles, or values ("Morality," n.d. Human Behavior section, para. 1) Under these values, the researcher has extracted the following from the stories under study: *relihiyoso* (religious) *napudno* (honest) and *naanus* (patient).

**Religious.** In the short story "*Ti Simo-Simot iti Lampara ni Julio Madarang*", the title character is an epitome of religiosity. Julio Madarang was an old man who lived by himself in a remote barrio. His wife, Felisa, died of childbirth, while his only son, Salacnib, an activist, died of unknown cause. One night, while preparing for bed, Julio heard a gunshot. Realizing that the gun was fired near his house, his first instinct was to call upon God for help."...*Ket natangad ni Lakay Julio ti altar. Ti Sagrada Familia ti adda dita. Ama, Ina, Anak. Kaasiannakami Apo, intanamitimna.*p.98 (Old man Julio looked up and saw the altar. The Holy Family is on the altar-the Holy Father, the Holy Mother and the Holy son. Have mercy on us, o God, he muttered.)

An altar with the replica of the Holy Family is a common fixture in the living room of a typical Filipino home, often one of the most conspicuous features of the most prominent part of the house. Julio Madarang had one such altar with the replica of the Holy Family in his living room. And as was seen in the story, this altar as not just a part of the decor. The presence of the altar means that religion occupied a central position not just in the house of Julio Madarang but also in his life. Julio Madarang's words, "*Kasiannakami, Apo!* Further validate his religiosity, since his first instinct was to call upon on God's providence when he sensed danger.

Reference made by the author to a rosary which hung on a nail below the altar only underscores the religiosity of Julio Madarang since the rosary is another significant religious icon among Roman Catholics. They consider it is a charm that shields them from danger, both physical and spiritual.

*Palubos to Apo* as an expression also mirrors Ilocano religiosity. In the short story *Ti Anibersaryo, Wen anakko, palubos ti Apo.*p 28 (Yes, my daughter, with God's providence) was uttered by Auring when her daughter asked if she could go to college. The same line was also said by the character of Elias in the short story *Sugat iti Barukong ti Daga* when tata Ananias asked him if he would pursue his original plan of fighting for his inheritance," *Apay kama nga saan, tata? Palubos ti Apo.*" p. 21 (Why not, Tata? With God's providence).

**Honest.** Honesty is presented by the character of Charlie in the short story *Manmano Ti Kas kenkuana* when he returned the wallet (which was bulging with money) he found on the street. Ilocano honesty is shown further by the character named Dencio in the short story *Naimbag a Nakem* when he refused to testify in favor of his boss, Mrs. Santos, who was involved in an anomaly. He refused to defend Mrs. Santos despite the many favors Mrs. Santos

has given to his family. He chose to keep his conscience clear, he remained honest to himself, to the law and to God.

**Patient.** Ilocanos, more than any other tribe in the Philippines are known to be patient. Patience is exemplified by the character named Delia in the short story *Ni Lelong* when she chose to still reside in the house of his grandfather, him being a strict man, who had a fiery temper. She chose to live in that house because she looked forward to her finishing a degree which was promised to her by her grandfather.

In the short story *Bukel ti Pangbalbaliw*, the character named Cristobal manifested patience too. Cristobal is a prodigal son who, after coming back to his hometown was forced to go up the mountain and make a vegetable farm there as his way of escaping the anger his siblings had towards him. Turning a part of the mountain into a vegetable farm surely entails a lot of patience, considering the climate, the topography of the place and the sharp *runo*, *panaw* and *amgid*, and thorny *kemmekekemeng*. Cristobal had to endure all of these because he wanted to change for the better.

### Cultural/Traditional Values

Cultural values are the shared beliefs, norms, and practices that guide the behavior and attitudes of a group of people. They influence how people communicate, interact, and cooperate. They also shape how people view themselves, their identity, and their place in the world (Pradeepa, 2024). For these values, the researcher unearthed *nadayaw* (courteous) *nasalimetmet* (frugal), *managpamuay* (resourceful), and *nagaget* (hardworking/industrious).

**Courteous.** Ilocano are particularly known for being courteous and respectful as manifested by their terms of respect for both the older and the younger ones. Among these are *lilong*, *lilang*, *ikit*, *uliteg*, *manong*, *manang*, *adding*, *barok*, *balasangko*, *nenen*, *balong* etc.

In the short story *Ala, Kuriat, Kantal*, the character named Pete is an embodiment of Ilocano courtesy. After spending many years in the city as a medical doctor, he and his wife took a vacation in his hometown one summer. When Pete saw some people he knew, he greeted them "*Naimbag a malemyo, tata.*" p.148 (Good afternoon, tata), "*Anyang, ni Tang Sido gayam!*"p.150 (Why, it's Tang Sido!), and before reaching their family house, "*Lumabaskam pay, nana.*"p. 151 (May we pass, nana). he also said, "*Ania kadi ti masida, adi?*" p. 153 (What do we have for dinner, adi?)

The words tata, tang, nana and adi are Ilocano terms for respect. Tata and tang are sometimes the equivalent of the English uncle, which are addressed to old men. Nana on the other hand, is an Ilocano term of respect for older women, sometimes the equivalent of the English aunt. Adi is a term used to address a younger person, male or female. Pete, having uttered them, means that he is a courteous man.

In the short story titled *Lakay Samuel*, Ilocano courtesy was displayed by Asiong and his son Rommel. Asiong addressed Lakay Samuel as apo, an Ilocano term addressed to an old man and woman who is very much respected in a certain community because of his/her age, wisdom, wealth and economic status. Asiong said, "*Naimas ti basiyo, apo.*"p. 213 (Your wine tastes good, Apo). Asiong is a courteous man, since he addressed Lakay Samuel apo. When one addresses somebody as Apo that means that the one who said this has a deep sense of respect for the one to whom this is addressed.

The term *lakay* also reflects Ilocano courtesy. *Lakay*, literally old man, is used to refer to an old man who is respected in a certain community because of his age and wisdom. But except in the case of a wife addressing her husband, *lakay* is not used as a form of address, only as a form of reference. As a form of address (to one other than a woman's husband), *lakay* could show disrespect. The appropriate address form is *Apo*.

*Apong*, which is a term of address reserved for the elderly. Literally, it means grandfather or grandmother, however, a young boy or girl may also use the word to address someone who could be his/her grandfather or grandmother but not really his/her own. Rommel, who said, "*Wen apong sumarunoakon*" p. 210 (I'll follow, *apong*) showed that he respects *Lakay Samuel* so much that even if *Lakay Samuel* was not his real grandfather, he considers the old man as such.

The story titled *Nana Balo* likewise reflects Ilocano courtesy, *Nana* is a term of respect addressed to older women, the counterpart of *tata*. It is the equivalent of the English aunt. *Nana* was said by *Istor*, the narrator of the story. *Pimmidut ni Nana Balo iti daga iti asideg ti agdan nga putek sana insubo. Sinurotna kalpasanna ni Lilang Minang nga immuli iti balay da Lilong Duardo.*" p. 201 (*Nana Balo* picked up a clod of earth near the bamboo stairs and put it in her mouth. She then followed *Lilang Minang* who entered *Lilong Duardo's* house).

*Lilong* and *lilang* were also used in the short story. *Lilang* is a term of address for elderly women while *lilong* is for elderly men. More terms of respect are evident from the snippets of conversation that took place in the house of *Lilong Duardo's* house.

"*Kasta nga talaga ti biag*". p.203 (That's life, *kaka*.)

"*Wen, uliteg*." p. 203 (Yes, *uliteg*.)

*Kaka* is a term of address for someone who is about the addresser's age, while *uliteg* is the Ilocano term for uncle. Other terms of respect or endearment for the younger ones are also in the story *Nana Balo*. Some of these are; *Barok-Barok*, *dim kad pay mapanunot ti mangasawa?* pg. 145 (*Barok*, don't you have any plans to marry yet? *Balasangko*- "*Dayta a pintasmo balasangko, maibigay la unay kenka ti agseniorita*". p.205 (With your beauty, *balasangko*, you are fit to be a princess.)

*Basang*- "*Anyang, balasangko!*" p.206 (Oh, *basang!*)

*Barok* is an address used by an older man or woman for a young man (literally means my son) while *balasangko* is for a young woman (Literally means my daughter). *Basang* is short for *balasangko*.

Finally, the ultimate gesture of respect is the kissing of the hand of an older person by a younger one. This gesture of respect is usually reserved for older kinsfolk, but it may also be done for non-relatives who are considered close and highly respected. For example, the doctor *Pete* in *Ala, Kuriat, Kanta!* Kisses the hand of *Lakay Sido*- "*Agmanoak koma, tata.*" p. 149 (let me kiss your hand, *tata*)- to show his respect for the old man.

**Frugal.** Among Filipino groups, Ilocanos are the people who are best known for being frugal. In fact, the thriftiness of Ilocanos has become almost proverbial so that non-Ilocanos first impression of any Ilocano is that he/she is *kuripot*, the Tagalog word for thrifty which has a negative connotation.

In the short story *Adigi*, frugality is mirrored by *Sendong*, who being a habitual smoker smoked homemade cigars called *pinadis*, instead of buying commercially-manufactured

cigarettes “..*Innalana ti tabakona ket nagbilot ti pinadisna.*” p. 163. (He brought out some dried tobacco leaves and made pinadis for himself.)

Ilocano frugality is also shown in their choice of food and dishes. Known for their sartorial taste and for their simple cuisine, vegetables are a usual part of the Ilocano meal. And for Ilocanos, vegetables are other than the common ones or those referred to as Baguio vegetables-potatoes, green beans, carrots, cauliflower, cabbage etc. Ilocanos eat a much wider variety of vegetables, which may be unknown to most Filipinos. The traditional Ilocano vegetable recipe, apart from the popular *pinakbet*, is the *dinengdeng* or *inabraw*. *Dinengdeng* or *inabraw* is a combination of vegetable cooked in ample amount of water and seasoned with *bugguong*(bagoong)

In the story of Julio Madarang, the author took pains to describe the evening meal of Julio. It was simple meal, typical Ilocano meal consisting of *dinengdeng*, naturally: “*Nalamiisen ti dinengdeng nga uggot ti saluyot ken ginalip a tarong a nasagpawan ti tinuno nga bangus*” p.100 (The vegetable stew of saluyot tops and eggplant with broiled bangus was already cold.)

Sometimes, when vegetables are not available, Ilocanos make do with just the *bugguong* to grease the rice down their throats. In the short story *Ala, Kuriat Kanta!*, Milling, when asked by Pete what she had to prepared for dinner, replied, “*Bugguong nga pinnerresan ti dalayap, manong.*” p.148 (*Bugguong* squeezed with *dalayap*, manong.)

For Ilocanos, *bugguong* is indispensable since *bugguong* is generally regarded as the ultimate symbol of Ilocano simplicity and frugality. According to Amano (2001), *bugguong* makes Ilocanos’ bones strong. Because of the lowly *bugguong*, Ilocanos are a hardy people.

**Resourceful.** In *Ala, Kuriat Kanta!*, Ilocano resourcefulness is underscored by the scenes which greeted Pete upon arriving from Manila. “*Maysa a lakay ti masabatmi. Nakabitin iti siketna ti alat nga agtedtedted pay laeng. Kagapapuna a napan nagkalap iti mamagmagaanen a waig. Maysa met a baket ti agsuksukdal ti sabunganay iti kasabaan iti igid ti kalsada.*” p.149 (We met an old man our way, Suspended on his waist is his alat, still dripping with water. He just came fishing from the almost dried up creek nearby. Another woman was trying to get a banana blossom from a banana tree by the side of the road.)

In the story *Ti Anibersaryo*, Ilocano resourcefulness was manifested by Amor, husband of Auring, the narrator of the story, instead of renting chairs and tables needed for the golden wedding anniversary of their parents, Amor called his friends and they made makeshift tables and chair from the bamboo growing in their backyard. “*Relaks ka laeng baket, adut kawayan a maaramid a tugaw kada lamisaan dita.*” p. 28 (Don’t worry, baket, there’s a lot of bamboo that we can make into chairs and tables.)

**Hardworking/Industrious.** Born into an unfavorable environment where opportunities for improving the quality of life are limited, Ilocanos need to be hardworking and industrious.

In the short story *Buneng*, the character Andres epitomizes Ilocano industry. Making bolos day in and day out since blacksmithing is their source of livelihood. In *Lakay Samuel*, hardwork and industry are exemplified by Lakay Samuel himself by turning Bussawit, which was then an unproductive, barren piece of land into something productive, a fruitful farm. “*Duada ken ti pimmasayen nga amana ti nangbukat kadaytoy a daga. Nalawa pay laeng daytoy idi a kapanagan ken kakaykaywan . Pinuoranda dagiti pan-aw pinukan ken pinarutda*

*dagiti saan nga agbunga nga kaykayo ket pinagbalinda nga talon ti nababa a parte ket bangkag met ti nangatngato. Minulaanda ngarud daytoy ket iti saan a mabayag, inapitda dagiti bunga ti linglingetda."* p. 210 (He and his father, who was still alive then, developed this farm. This was a wide and barren piece of land covered with cogon grass and unproductive trees. They cleaned the place, set the cogon grass to fire and uprooted the 'useless' trees. The lower portions were made into rice paddies while the upper part was planted with vegetables. After days and months of hard work, they soon reaped the fruits of their labor.)

In the short story Proserpina, hard work is exemplified by the characters of Proserpina and Basilio when they joined their neighbors in planting rice." ...*Lininteg ni Basilio ti nagtakder sa nagkiad. Nagrittuok ti siketna. Adda ti abayna ni Proserpina a sipapasnek nga agraraep. Umis-isem a mangmatmat kadagiti lima kabatog nga inraep ni Proserpina. Nalintegda man, indayawna."* p. 261 (Basilio stood up and massage his aching waist. Beside hik, Proserpina was busy planting rice. Basilio looked at the seedlings she just planted. They are so straight, he said to himself.)

Industry is further defined by the collective efforts of the farmers in the short story Adigi when the men of the locality went fishing one story night.

### Social Values

Social values are qualities, attitudes, and standards that individuals and groups use to guide their actions. These values are the foundation for establishing social order within groups. Through them, a society determines what's acceptable or not, what should be done or not, and what's desirable or not (What is Social Values? 2022)). *Mannakikaddua* (friendly/hospitable) *mannakitinnulong* (helpful), *managpadaya* (party-lover), and *managbabain* (knows the word hiya) are what the researcher has observed under this value.

**Friendliness.** Ilocanos are a friendly people, despite their clannishness. This is because they can easily adapt to their environment. When an Ilocano extends friendship. It is friendship in the real sense of the word, not just plain acquaintance.

The story *Ti Simot-simot iti Lampara ni Julio Madarang* mirrors Ilocano friendliness. This is when Julio admitted Salacnib, a total stranger in his home. Julio even fed and clothed him, never questioning who the youth is, how and why did he knock on his door etc. In fact, he saw in Salacnib his son who was killed many years ago. This compelled him to give Salacnib the things he considers important to his life, the rosary and the unsheathed bolo." ... *Mapadayawanak unay, tata," insungbat daytoy. Innalana ngarud ti nangisit a rosary ken ti nakakaluban a talunasan.* p.210 ("it is my great pleasure, tata," he said. He accepted the rosary and the unsheathed bolo.)

Ilocano friendliness is further defined by the characters named Atoy and Sipok in the story *Ubbog*. The friendship manifested by these two teenagers reflects a friendship unbounded by race, color and time, Atoy being an Ilocano and Sipok, an Aeta.

In *Lakay Samuel*, the same sense of friendliness is also felt. The peasant characters of the story lived in a community where everybody is a friend- where neighbors are friends and friends are neighbors. The afternoon meetings of the man, usually coupled with "basi" drinking sprees, the friendly chat of the women, the kids playing under the moonlight-all these give an insight on the friendliness of the Ilocanos.



**Helpful.** In Ilocandia, the spirit of *bayanihan* is very much alive. This value is best seen in the short story *Lakay Samuel*, the title character who went the second mile to help his poor neighbors by thinking a way to look after their welfare after his death-this is by establishing a foundation in his name to take care of the peasants' need." .. *Nagtaraok ti manador. Pumarbangonen ngem siriring pay aleng ni Lakay Samuel. Adda mabukbukel a plano iti panunotna. Agpaaramidto ti testamento. Mailanadto ditoy nga dina ilako ti daga a suksukayen dagiti mannalon no kas panagarigan ta pumusay ton. Ketdi, agabalinto daytoy a foundation a mangitandudo iti naganna.*" p. 218 (The rooster crowed. It is already dawn yet Lakay Samuel is still awake. A plan rings in his mind. He will soon make his last will and testament. The testament would say that he is not going to sell his land when he dies. Instead, this will be turned into a foundation in his honor.)

In *Nana Balo*, the characters also showed helpfulness during the harvesting of Angkel Bas' ricefield. *Iti likudanmi, alalaenen dagiti nareppet a dawa ket inkanayondan nga inserrek dagitoy iti kubo iti pingit ti talon idi agarbis.*p. 204. (The farmers were collecting the harvested grains. When the rain came, they put them inside the shack near the field).

Helpfulness is also reflected by Dolor and her mother, Nana Salbi when they welcomed in their home and helped a pregnant woman deliver her child, without accepting anything in return.

**Party-Lover.** Ilocanos love to host parties, any significant event is celebrated with a party. The christening of a baby, birthdays, graduations, weddings, anniversaries, fiestas, arrival and departure of a kin abroad, even funerals are all events that call for celebration. And these celebrations are not simple, they are a feast. Sumptuous, lavish and elaborate dishes, wines and liquors are served . Music is also a must that videokes are a regular fixture in Ilocano parties. Sometimes, a live band called "combo" is used instead of the videoke. Even funerals are held with music on the background.

In the story *Ti Anibersaryo*, a big party was held in honor of the family's matriarch's and patriarch's golden wedding anniversary. The party which was done in Amor's house in the barrio, was really a big one...*Lima a baboy, uppat a kalding, ken dua dosena a manok ti naparti. Naguma dagiti tao ti sagana.*p.30 (Five pigs and four goats were butchered and twenty-four chicken were dressed. The guests were all fed to their satisfaction.)

The Ilocanos' penchant for parties is further shown in the short story *Pulseras Nga Pirak* during the supposed wedding of Lakay Titong and Loring (who turns up to be her daughter, hence the wedding was cancelled). *Dakkel a padaya ti naisagana. Napintas ti dekorasyon ti nalawa a paraangan da Loring. Naimas ti angot ti tallo a baboy a malitlitson . Sabali laeng ti dua a baka a naparti. Di met nakapagemmak dagiti kalding a narukrok. Idinto nga di mabilang dagiti naidutdutan nga manok.* p. 85 (it was still early Bakir was already awake. A big feast is about to take place. The aroma of the three roasted pigs filled the air. Two cows were butchered. The goats did not even find time to cry while countless chickens were dressed.)

**Sense of "Bain".**Ilocanos have a strong sense of the word "bain" or *hiya/kahihiyan* in Filipino. They are naturally timid and generally consider themselves inferior to other people. As such, they have high respect towards authorities like politicians and professionals. For the Ilocano, the psychology of "hiya" is more of being ashamed of his way of life, of his simple abode , of his sartorial taste, of what he can afford to offer his guests.



The story *Ti Anibersaryo* illustrates this Ilocano trait when Anes, learning that her grandparents will celebrate their wedding anniversary in their place said “*Nagdakes met ti balaytayo, kababain!*”p. 29 (Our house’s a mess, what a shame!) Auring further validated this when she said “*Dika la agbainen nga mangted laeng ti dudduddua nga kalding? Anayemon nga uppat samonto nayonan ti maysa nga baboy ken dua dosena nga manok!*” p.31 (Are you not ashamed to give just two goats? Make it four and give two pigs and two dozen chicken), when her husband, Amor told her of what he intends to contribute for the feast.

### **CONCLUSION, IMPLICATION, SUGGESTION, AND LIMITATIONS**

On account of the above values mentioned as reflected in the sixteen selected Ilocano short stories, it is therefore safe to assume that the Ilocano psychology that emerged is something positive since all the values mentioned connotes a positive meaning. It can also be said that it is these values which shape the Ilocano identity, the true soul of the Ilocanos. Thus, as an extension, the researcher recommends looking into other short stories and other literary genres using relevant literary or sociological theories to validate the findings of this study.



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